DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 251 040 HE 017 905

AUTHOR Goodwin, Stefan
TITLE Afro-American Anthropologists as Scientists: A Moment in Time.
PUB DATE 81
NOTE 23p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association (Los Angeles, CA, 1981).
PUB TYPE Historical Materials (060) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Anthropology; Black Achievement; *Blacks; *Black Teachers; *College Faculty; Educational Background; Higher Education; *Social Scientists

ABSTRACT

The status and meaning of Afro-American anthropologists as scientists in the United States are reviewed, along with survey findings concerning the characteristics of this population. At the end of the nineteenth century, DuBois was probably the first Afro-American to take a sequence of anthropology courses at an advanced level. His influence on anthropology was considerable: he produced the first important scientific study of a U.S. black community and set high standards in the use of the scientific method in analyzing urban research. The attainments and specialty fields of about 35 other Afro-Americans that influenced anthropology are also discussed. It has been estimated that there are currently about 115 black persons in the United States who are anthropologists or advanced students of anthropology. Survey findings are provided on: the state of birth of a sample of U.S. Afro-American anthropologists, their educational background, their current position and responsibilities, and subjects that the anthropologists feel competent to teach. (SW)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED251040

AFRO-AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGISTS AS SCIENTISTS:

A MOMENT IN TIME

Stefan Goodwin, Ph.D.
Sociology-Anthropology
Morgan State University
Baltimore, MD 21239

(301) 444-3518

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Stefan Goodwin

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Annual Meeting

American Anthropological Association

Los Angeles

1981

ME012905

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

✓ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

This study profiles certain dimensions of Afro-American anthropologists of the United States as scientists at a moment in time and the moment that I ultimately wish to shed light on is the present. As few of us burst upon the scene of life through multiple births, Afro-American anthropologists did not suddenly erupt via simultaneous multiple births upon a world stage as the mature and well-rounded group that they have become today. In my own personal case, for example, my becoming an anthropologist probably had something to do with a Jewish boy I met in Ghana, with an Indian boy I met in Tennessee, with a book I read by W. E. B. DuBois, with a book I read by Cora DuBois, and with a job I had in Saudi Arabia. But these are mere details, mere particularism and I am neither fooled nor blinded by such particularism. It is possible that almost all anthropologists came to embrace the discipline in some such peculiar way, but there is something which is much more important and more riveting, and it is this. As surely as I speak to you today, I am certain that while such details of how, and when. and by what routes we made the journey might be different in many ways, the fact that we Afro-Americans have made that journey, the fact that we made it for the most part in America, and the fact that we were moved to make it even during the midnight of horrendous racial, social, economic, and political adversities suggests commonalities in the human conditions which we experienced and which move us.

To some extent, all anthropologists have to be Renaissance scholars, humanists and citizen-of-the-world types if they are to do their work well because our subject matter, the study of people wherever we find

them, is so broad. But for black people in America seeking to follow such a path amidst the greatest possible adversities and admist the immediacy of our own status degredation, I suspect there comes about a type of experiential and psychic unity - yea, even among those of us who do not know each other and even among those of us who live and those of us who have passed away. To be sure, it has not created of many minds one or of many outlooks and Weltanschauungen a single official common dogma, and for this we may all rejoice. However, what the commonalities of our human conditions and this thing which I call experiential and psychic unity have begun to do is to bring us together in fellowship, and to some extent in deadly serious common cause, even at the moment that we are becoming professionally more mature and more diverse than ever before.

In order to share with you today a few of my insights having to do with that wonderful maturity and diversity at this moment in time, I wish to look back, even if only briefly, at some of the wonderments of birth and emergence which brought us as a group both to this time and to this place. With respect to the end of the nineteenth century, DuBois was probably the first Afro-American to take a sequence of anthropology courses at an advanced level. This was after he had made his way from Fisk to Harvard and had from 1892 to 1894 gone to the University of Berlin prior to receiving his Harvard Ph.D. in history in 1895. The fact that DuBois did this at a time in the evolution of our discipline when, according to St. Clair Drake (1980:2), most Afro-American intellectuals considered anthropology the "enemy" is more surprising on the surface than in reality, for it is even possible that most Afro-American intellectuals still consider the discipline to which we have

dedicated our lives the "enemy." And even if this speculation be on the mark, we must presevere all the same. Perhaps what DuBois was attempting to do and what many of us are still attempting to do is to rectify the discipline from within and to make it enhance the quality of life and serve genuine human needs.

Though DuBois spread his net widely and probably never considered himself an anthropologist per se, his influence on anthropology was considerable. In publishing The Philadelphia Negro in 1899, for example, he was not only producing the first important scientific study of a black community in the United States, he was also setting a new standard for the meticulous application of scientific method and analysis in urban research for history and for all the social sciences and he was also supporting through scholarship an environmental approach to social analysis as opposed to the more hereditary and racial approaches which were then common.

St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton (1962:787-788) have pointed out that DuBois' approach anticipated all later work on the stratification of American cities and Baltzell (1967:xxvi) has pointed out that "Franz Boas in his Lowell Lecture, The Mind of Primitive Man (1911) was echoing the findings and conclusions of DuBois when he wrote that 'the traits of the American Negro are adequately explained on the basis of his history and his social status...without falling back upon the theory of hereditary inferiority.'" DuBois' close relationship with anthropology is further underscored by the fact that both he and Boas addressed the same World Races Congress of leading anti-racist sociologists and anthropologists in London in 1911 (Padmore, 1956:118-119; Drake, 1980:11). When in The Souls of Black Folk which first appeared in 1903, DuBois

(1961:23) proclaimed "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line, - the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea," he was universalizing for blacks in a very anthropological way the meaning of their liberation struggle in America as interrelated with similar struggles elsewhere. And doubtlessly, DuBois had history and all the social sciences in mind when in Dusk of Dawn (1968:55-65) he wrote his pioneering work in Atlanta as follows.

> It may be said without undue boasting that between 1896 and 1920 there was no study of the race problem in America made which did not depend in some degree upon the investigations made at Atlanta University... at the time of their publication Atlanta University was the only institution in the world carrying on a systematic study of the Negro and his development, and putting the result in a form available for the scholars of the world.

In this connection, DuBois annually brought outstanding scholars to Atlanta for various meetings and presentations among whom was Boas. They discovered each other prior to 1900 and according to Drake (1980: 11), DuBois credited Boas with having first directed his attention to certain ancient kingdoms of Sudanese Africa.

Apart from DuBois, one of the earliest Afro-Americans to be engaged in anthropological research over a long period of time was the ethno-historian J. A. Rogers. Though he possessed no degree in anthropology, and though his approach was almost always teleological and his understanding of population genetics limited, DuBois himself once said of him, "No man living has revealed so many important facts about the Negro as Rogers." Rogers did archival and first person fieldwork on three or four continents and he never stopped researching and publishing from 1915 well into the forties. He held membership in many learned societies

and, in 1930, was elected to membership in the Paris Society of Anthropology.

Another early Afro-American anthropologist, one with a specialty in physical anthropology, a female, and the first to obtain the Ph.D. in the discipline, was Caroline Bond Day. It is reputed that it was DuBois who first advised her to enter the field. Another Afro-American who earned an advanced anthropology degree in the mid-twenties was Zora Neale Hurston. After her studies at Morgan in Baltimore, she studied at Barnard and later at Columbia (Hurston, 1942; Drake, 1980:16-17; Willis, 1975:320-321). Hurston was not the only Afro-American folklorist with geographical areas of specialty in the United States and the Antilles who Boas began training in the twenties - John H. Johnson of Antigua was another - though she may have been the only one to have received an advanced degree from Columbia during that time. That Afro-American anthropologists followed contrasting and diversified professional paths right from the start becomes even clearer when we consider that Mark Hanna Watkins who earned a Ph.D. in anthropology in 1933 was a pioneer Africanist and a pioneer linguist (Wright, 1976:889-890).

It was still in the thirties when Katherine Dunham obtained an advanced anthropology degree and carried out early ethnographic research on the United States and the Antilles. Whereas Dunham was especially interested in the dance after a while, one is reminded that earlier Afro-Americans (including DuBois) had at an earlier time been interested in Afro-American music and had collected ethnomusicological materials in this regard. It was also still the thirties when Lorenzo Turney became a linguist and when Montague Cobb became a physical anthropologist by means of training in cognate disciplines (Drake, 1980:8, 17). In fact,

in time, Cobb would eventually become President of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists. Throughout the twenties and the thirties, numerous Afro-Americans worked in the field as researchers collecting folklore under the supervision of professors at institutions such as Columbia in the north, and Hampton, Fisk, North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and Vanderbilt in the south. Their personal and professional stories are even today largely untold.

In the early forties, Ph.D.'s in anthropology were earned by Allison Davis at Chicago and by Arthur Huff Fauset at Pennsylvania. Davis was a specialist on United States ethnography, on social stratification, on ethnic studies, on social structure, and on the anthropology of education. Fauset, on the other hand, was a specialist who was interested in folklore in religion and who undertook field research among Afro-Americans in Canada and the Antilles as well as in the United States. In 1945, Ellen Irene Diggs (who had previously matriculated at the University of Minnesota and at Atlanta University) earned a doctorate of philosophy and letters from the University of Havana in Cuba, and went on to develop into an Africanist as well as a Latin Americanist. Also earning an anthropology doctorate in the forties was St. Clair Drake who developed specialties in Afro-America and in Africa. That this was a period when black anthropologists reached out to others in training seems indicated by the fact that Diggs was for a considerable time associated with DuBois as a research assistant and, for a while, St. Clair Drake was associated with Allison Davis in a similar way (Szwed, 1979:103-104).

The 1950's began with Charles Warren who already had developed specialties in biological anthropology and Africa taking up field re-

search in the Philippines and, thereby, becoming one of the first Asianist among us. And during the early or mid-fifties, Elliott Skinner, Council Taylor, and Hugh Smythe emerged as new Africanists, and as Symthe immediately went off to do extended post-doctoral research in Japan, he too was one of the first Afro-American Asianist. But Africa was the main story during the decade of the fifties. The West Indian-born M. G. Smith who has spent only a part of his professional life in the United States, began his African fieldwork as early as 1949, and this was followed by other field work both there and in the Antilles during the fifties. Another Afro-American who undertook fieldwork in the Antilles in the fifties and later was Vera Green, an important Latin Americanist. Among the new Africanists who emerged on the American scene before the decade closed, however, were James Gibbs, George Bond, and Oliver Osborne. Bond, like Smith, had received his highest degree not in the United States, but in the United Kingdom.

During the sixties and the early seventies, Afro-American anthropologists explored much new terrain and established many new milestones. Norge Jerome, originally from Grenada, received a Ph.D. in 1967 by combining anthropology with a previous specialty in nutrition. The number of blacks engaged in Amerindian studies quickly multiplied. Virginia Ford and Nigerian-born Victor Uchendu undertook dissertation research on Indians in the United States while John Gwaltney undertook dissertation research on Indians in Mexico. Also during the sixties and early seventies, Delores Newton undertook fieldwork on Indians both of North and South America. And in the early seventies, Joseph Brown (though holding no degree in anthropology) was hired by the Smithsonian Institute to work with its Indian collection. Another trend of the

period was that David Banks emerged as an Asianist and eventually so did Diane Lewis and Delmos Jones. The first anthropology dissertation on a European people by an Afro-American was produced by Stefan Goodwin for a Northwestern Ph.D. in 1974.

Among the new Africanists whose emergence may be associated with the mid- to late sixties or early seventies are a number of females with names like Audrey Smedley, Niara Sudakarsa, Sheila Walker, and Johnetta Cole. Even in the second half of the seventies and in the early eighties, females are important in an unprecedented way among emerging Africanists. In fact, they include names like Carolyn Clark, Evelyn Barbee, VeVe Clark, and Beverlee Bruce. And in contrast to earlier Afro-American scholars most of whom specialized on West Africa, Carolyn Clark undertook fieldwork in Kenya and Evelyn Barbee in Botswana. It is also significant that both VeVe Clark and Beverlee Bruce (Presently the Deputy Director of Peace Corps in Liberia) have training in linguistics as well as in ethnography and ethnology.

The interest of black United States-based anthropologists in studying the Antilles and South America which was apparent even in the days of Rogers, Hurston, and Dunham, we see more strong than ever with the recent emergence of Norris Johnson, David Stevenson, Jamaican-born Trevor Purcell, Faye Harrison, and A. Lynn Bolles. Significantly, A. Lynn Bolles (like Johnetta Cole before her) has developed as one of her subspecialties economic anthropology. Another marked trend of late is the greater numbers of Afro-Americans becoming specialized in medical and biological anthropology. In 1979, for example, there was at least three scholars who won Ph.D.'s in these areas, including Tyson Gibbs, David Stevenson, and Evelyn Barbee. Stevenson, I may add, also developed

a subspecialty in archeology.

Overall, it is significant that the traditional attraction of certain foreign-born Afro-Americans and Africans to the Afro-American professional community here continues. Many of the names are well-known to us, names like Remy Anselme, Asmarom Legesse, John Ogbo, Mphiwa Mbatha, Mougo Nyaggah, and until recently, Haitian-born Louis Noisin was also here. It is also significant that a few Asian-American and Hispanic Americans are at least marginal to that community though United States-based Arab-speaking North African anthropologists generally forgo inclusion or even close association. Finally, a trend which has been continuous throughout this century is that Afro-American social scientists - more often sociologists, but also anthropologists - have remained committed to studying Afro-America within these United States. In this connection, I make particular reference to people like Ira Harrison, Melvin Williams, William Willis, and Annie Barnes. In fact, a few of us have even undertaken research on the rural poor among the white people of this country. It goes without saying that Afro-American anthropologists in the United States have been nothing if not ambitious, individualistic and - if you will - "uppidy." It also goes without saying that the future is pregnant with possibilities. Afterall, it was as recently as the 1969 Meeting of AAA in New Orleans that what was then a groundbreaking resolution on behalf of the Executive Board of the Association was submitted to the membership by Dell Hymes and George M. Foster and it reads as follows:

> Whereas the participation in research and teaching of persons of diverse backgrounds is essential to objectivity and relevance in anthropology
>
> and whereas knowledge of significant aspects of communities and groups is often accessible only to persons with roots in those communities and groups,

> and whereas persons with roots in other than the white middle class sector of American society can make invaluable contributions to knowledge of all sectors of contemporary life,
>
> and whereas few persons from other than the white middle class sctor now enter anthropology in the United States and achieve professional recognition
>
> therefore, be it resolved that the American Anthropological Association urges vigorous recruitment of students of Black, Chicano, American Indian, Asian and other such backgrounds in anthropology in universities and colleges, and vigorous efforts to hire and facilitate the careers of such persons in the profession (Committee on Minorities and Anthropology, 1973:97).

Pursuant to the implementation of the resolution cited, the Executive Board established an ad hoc Committee on Minnority Participation. The Executive Board liaison member on the Committee was James L. Gibbs, Jr., one of the discussants on the panel before you today. Through a process of evolution, that Committee on Minority Participation was by August, 1971 replaced by the Committee on Minorities and Anthropology, a small ethnically diverse committee chaired by Thomas Weaver on which Gibbs continued to serve as Board Liaison. Today, that Committee is no more, but before it went out of existence, it undertook an unprecedented research task which involved it in using survey research methods to study minority anthropologists in the United States for the very first time. In august, 1973, moreover, there appeared in print the product of that research under the title of Report of the Committee on Minorities and Anthropology.

From the time that the research instrument was distributed in early 1972 until today is ten years, in reality, a decade. This being the case, it is only fitting that we should again be assembled here at an Annual Meeting of AAA to assess the status and meaning of a minority

people as anthropologists in the United States. Also, it is only fitting that James Gibbs who was so important in that undertaking by the Committee should be here with us in what is part recollection, part stocktaking, part projection, and I hope, part celebration of our wonderful accomplishments. The intervening founding of the Association of Black Anthropologists alone has been a tremendous accomplishment. It was the ancient Greeks who immortalized the words, "Know Thyself," but I believe those words are as good a guide today as they ever were. This is to say that we Afro-American anthropologists here in the United States need to know where we have come from to appreciate where we are and we have to know where we are to get to where we want to be.

In order to make my own contribution to this essential knowledge, I have recently been involved in a study of Afro-American anthropologists through survey research methods, a survey, I may add, which is still in progress. Like the survey undertaken by the Committee on Minorities and Anthropology some ten years ago, it is conerned with other minorities as well as with Afro-Americans. The few insights from that survey which I shall share with you briefly today, however, will on purpose be limited to information aggregated and analyzed exclusively from questionnaires completed by non-Hispanic United States-based Afro-American or African anthropologists.

As in the study of 1972, the present survey was designed to describe a population rather than a consciously extracted sample drawn from a larger universe. In the previous survey, completed questionnaires were received and analyzed on sixteen such anthropologists. In the present survey, twenty-one such questionnaires have thus far been received and partially analyzed, that is, an increase of just under one third. This

is not to suggest, however, a higher rate of return than the 26.7% characteristic of blacks in the previous study for that is most probably not the case in view of the larger numbers of such anthropologists in existence today. But only five weeks have elasped since questionnaires for this study began to be distributed and I am yet hopeful that a significant number of others will still be received. Consequently, I shall discuss slected items from the survey only in a very cursory way.

One question which continues to be posed about Afro-American anthropologists in the United States is how many of us are there. It is not an easy question to answer although I suspect that I am closer to the truth than we have been hitherto. Until the end of World War II, there were probably no more than ten who actually held advanced degrees in the discipline. It is quite probable, however, that certain linguists, certain folklorists, certain ethnomusicologists, certain ethnohistorians, and certain classical archeologists were not included in this number. In fact, many such anthropological specialists still do not have actively participate in anthropology organizations and networks even today. As of 1972, the Committee on Minorities and Anthropology (1973:4-5) could confidently identify only 60 non-Hispanic Afro-American anthropologists, including even one resident African. As of October 31, 1981, the computer files of the AAA contain data indicating the existence of 94 black present and recent members of the Association, including students and overseas foreigners plus one obvious mistake. With appropriate adjustments by deduction and estimation, the listing yields eighty "black" AAA members who are professionals with American citizenship or residence. About two years ago, the Association of Black Anthropologists (ABA) published a dictory of "black" United States-based anthropologists

and it contained many of the same names now in the AAA files. Approximately, 25 names, however, were different. The Association of Third World Anthropologists also has a mailing list which includes a number of black or Afro-American anthropologists, but no record of the particular ethnic identify of members is maintained. Perusal of this source, however, led to the discovery of ten or so persons not on the other lists. Tentatively, therefore, we may estimate that there are currently about 115 black persons in the United States who are anthropologists or advanced students of anthropology, not including the types of nonaffilliated specialists listed above.

We know even less about how many students there are than how many anthropologists there are, for many students do not join professional organizations for financial and other reasons plus, due to attrition and some intermittent studying, the student population is characterized by certain unstable and uncertain factors. Also, there exist some large and impersonal departments of anthropology in large urban universities where no one actually knows how many Afro-American anthropologists-in-training there may be. In 1975, D'Andrade undertook a nationwide survey of 125 departments granting anthropology degrees to find out to what extent black students were represented among their student populations and he found them to be not well represented at all. Whereas in 1969-1970, 3.5% of entering students had been black, in 1973-1974, they represented only 2.5% (D'Andrade, 1975:89). Ira Harrison (1979:269) carried out a 1977 study in twelve southern states which indicated that in the universities responding with figures that were usable, 7.2% of their graduate students majoring in anthropology were black. Of the twenty-one respondents that have recently completed questionnaires for

the survey I am conducting, only one was a student and she expects to receive the Ph.D. within seven months. Before the study has been completed, however, there will be a concerted attempt to include numerous students within the study population.

A comparison of birthplaces for the black anthropologists in the 1972 survey by the Committee on Minorities and Anthropology and for the present survey suggests that a considerable number of persons who were accounted for in the first study have not thus far participated in the second study, and vice versa. For example, while Virginia and Tennessee are the birthplaces of 28.6% of the respondents in the present study, there were no Afro-American respondents born in those states in the previous survey by the Committee, and while Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Michigan represented the birthplaces of 25.0% of the respondents in the previous survey, none of the present respondents were born there. Also, all of the present respondents were born in the United States or the Antilles whereas previously none of the respondents was from the Antilles, but one was from Africa. Also, by comparing places of employment and localities of residence, I was able to discern that with respect to the southern region as defined by Harrison (1979:267-268), not more than one of the nine black anthropologists that he found in that region could possibly have been included among my respondents. Also, I am able to discern that at least two of my respondents who are in the southern region could not have possibly been known to him.

Based on these types of careful comparisons, it is possible to draw several conclusions. First, it is entirely possible that the number of Afro-American anthropologists in the United States is considerably higher than ever suggested in any previous studies. Secondly,

one disadvantage of the haphazard way in which many anthropologists have participated in such surveys is that longitudinal study of change is made more difficult. Thirdly, almost no Afro-American anthropologists were born in the deep south except to some extent in Alabama, nor west of the Mississippi except to some extent in California, nor in New England except to some extent in Massachusetts. It is noteworthy that the only two full-time anthropologists whom Harrison located in the southern region by means of his survey had actually been born in the "Northeastern United States." Most Afro-American anthropologists were born just south of the Great Lakes, in the upper south between Tennessee, Kentucky, West Virginia, and Virginia or in the corridor of mid-Atlantic states stretching from Virginia to New York; these three areas are our homelands. And paradoxically, it appears to be Norfolk, Virginia which has outproduced all other cities.

The respondents in my survey ranged in age from thirty to sixty-seven with the mean being forty-two years of age. While 43% of them were women, 57% were men. With respect to educational background and status, all but four or 81.0% held doctorate degrees. Another is to receive the doctorate next year, bringing the applicable figure to 85.7%. Also, another respondent has two master's degrees in anthropology. The single respondent who possessed no degree in anthropology entered the field by means of training on the job, as well as through extensive coursework. The universities from which these respondents received their degrees in anthropology together make up an impressive list and include the following: Catholic, Harvard, Virginia, Rutgers, Wisconsin at Madison, Hopkins, Brooklyn, London School of Economics and Political Science, Florida, Dartmouth, Chicago, Yale, Northwestern, Michigan State,

Indiana, Arizona, Columbia, University of Washington, Ohio State, Michigan, Stanford, and Brown.

The impressive credentials of these anthropologists coupled with a mean age of forty-two helps to explain why they have been so successful professionally in some respects. For example, one was a dean, four were directors of some type within university environments, and two were department chairpersons at universities. Of those who presently or formerly worked at universities or colleges, one third reached the rank of full professor, one third the rank of associate professor and one third the rank of assistant professor. One, a new Ph.D. with very impressive credentials, was still unemployed. Two held government posts, one at a medium civil service rank and the other at a very high presidential-appointment level.

The survey revealed that 33.3% of Afro-American anthropologists feel competent to teach at least an undergraduate course in physical anthropology while 9.5% feel competent to teach a wide variety of such courses even at the graduate level. A full 14.3% of the respondents reported being engaged in some research in the area of physical anthropology with the mean time-allocation to this activity by these persons being 36.7% of all the time they devote to research.

While 71.4% of Afro-American anthropologists feel themselves competent to teach a wide variety of ethnography and ethnology courses at both the undergraduate and graduate levels, an additional 9.5% feel competent to teach within this area at the undergraduate level per se. Hence, 81.0% of these scholars have considerable expertise in ethnography and ethnology and, on the average, they devote 82.4% of their research time to these areas.

Although 23.9% of Afro-American anthropologists feel competent to teach an undergraduate course in linguistics, only 14.3% could teach a wide array of such courses at the graduate level. Only three such scholars are actively engaged in linguistics research and they devote an average of 20.0% of their research time to the area.

As with linguistics, exactly 14.3% of the anthropologists feel that they could teach archeology and prehistory at the graduate and undergraduate levels. Overall, those who could teach at least an undergraduate course in the area is 28.6%, or just slightly higher than the comparable figure for linguistics. Three persons were actively engaged in archeological research and devoted 23.3% of their time to the endeavor. In order of decreasing expertise, it follows, therefore, that these scholars are most familiar with ethnography and ethnology followed by physical anthropology, by archeology, and by linguistics.

While it is obviously not possible to summarize the whole range of findings here, I can assure you that they are already putting many negative stereotypes to rest. At such time in late January or February when I feel that I can no longer wait for additional questionnaires, final analysis will begin. For now, let me just say that I shall be looking at at least seven aspects of the Afro-American plight in the field of anthropology which have not been dealt with in this presentation and they include the following:

(1) Self-Identity and Ethnic Perspective
(2) The Student Situation
(3) Reflections on Theory, Methods and Objectivity
(4) The Current Environment for Professional Self-Determination
(5) The Employment of Afro-American Anthropologists
(6) Research and Publishing Environment for Afro-American Anthropologists

(7) Some Loci of Recent Contributions of Importance

We Afro-American anthropologists have come a long way, but our work is not done. There are, for example, still some new frontieers where we may wish to test the water and I think, in particular, of the Artic Circle, of Oceania, and of Australia. I am thinking also of North Africa and of Europe, and I am thinking of the white man in America right in front of our faces. And needless to say, we must at all cost continue our work on Middle Africa, on Southern Africa and on all sectors of the Diaspora. In terms of language, in terms of primates, and in terms of fossils, no continent is more rich than Africa and presently we hold no leads in any of these areas. We have accomplished much, but clearly the task has only begun. I look in vain for the names of United States-based Afro-American anthropologists in books on theory such as Marvin Harris' The Rise of Anthropological Theory, Peritti Pelto's Anthropological Research: The Structure of Inquiry, Raoul Naroll and Ronald Cohen's A Handbook of Method in Cultural Anthropology, and in Watson, LeBlanc and Redman's Explanation in Archeology. An Explicitly Scientific Approach. With rare expectations, we simply are not there. We are simply not taken seriously as theoreticians. Either we must make our way into those method and theory books written by non-Afro-Americans or we must individually or collectively write our own.

More diverse pursuits by Afro-Americans in the present than in the past, and in the future than in the present, constitute a test of our community maturity in terms of an ability to be tolerant of contrasting commitments and of contrasting concerns. Still, to the extent that our differences can be fine-tuned and coordinated to assault problems of mutual concern, they go beyond being merely a challenge and become also

an accomplishment. While it would likely be misguided for us to seek some single enlightened "path," it is imperative that we Afro-American anthropologists achieve more professional self-determination both as individual scientists and as a community. As we go forth from this time, I am certain that we have a story to tell, and I as equally certain that we have a mission to achieve.

REFERENCES CITED

Balzell, E. Digby
1976 Introduction to the 1967 Edition. In The Philadelphia, W. E. B. DuBois. New York: Schocken Books.

Committee on Minorities and Anthropology
1973 The Minority Experience in Anthropology. Washington: American Anthropological Association.

D'Andrade, Roy G.
1975 Minorities in Anthropology Higher Degree Programs, American Anthropological Association Newsletter 16:19-23.

Drake, St. Clair
1980 Anthropology and the Black Experience, The Black Scholar 11:2-31.

Drake, St. Clair and Horace R. Cayton
1962 Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers.

DuBois, W. E. B.
1961 The Souls of Black Folk. New York: Fawcett Publications, Inc.

1968 Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept. New York: Schocken Books.

1976 The Philadelphia Negro. New York: Schocken Books.

Harris, Marvin
1969 The Rise of Anthropological Theory: A History of the Theories of Culture. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company.

Harrison, Ira E.
1979 Black Anthropologists in the Southern Region, Anthropology and Education Quarterly 10:267-275.

Naroll, Raoul and Ronald Cohen, eds.
1973 A Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology. New York: Columbia University Press.

Padmore, George
1956 Pan-Africanism or Communism. New York: Roy Publishers.

Pelto, Pertti J.
1970 Anthropological Research: The Structure of Inquiry. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers.

Swed, John F.
1979 The Ethnography of Ethnic Groups in the United States, 1920-1950. In The Uses of Anthropology 11:100-109.

Watson, Patty Jo, Steven A. LeBlanc and Charles L. Redman
1971 Explanation in Archeology: An Explicitly Scientific Approach. New York: Columbia University Press.

Willis, Jr., William S.
1975 Franz Boas and the Study of Black Folklore. In The New Ethnicity: Perspectives from Ethnology, John W. Bennett, ed. New York: West Publishing Company.

Wright, Jerome
1976 Mark Hanna Wakins, American Anthropologist 78:889-890.